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ON SOLON'S "EUNOMIA" (FRG. 3 D)

The following paper, which attempts anew an explanation of one of Solon's most important poems,¹ has a twofold purpose. It aims by the method of *explication-de-texte* first to enter more deeply into the structure and meaning of the poem and then to demonstrate the applicability of its wisdom to our own times. Solon's appeal to his fellow Athenians on the basis of right, of justice, and of good order combines in its utterance a plea for harmonious coexist-

ence and a warning of responsibility. The fact that Solon was the first poet—at least as far as we know—to arise from within the Athenian ranks reinforces its greatness

I should like to quote a passage from an address last year by the ex-president of France, Vincent Auriol, because it actually contains a warning to the world fitting aptly within the context of Solon's message (*New York Times*, June 29, 1953):

Our freedom has become a weakness, and the democratic system is the most difficult of all systems. I adjure my countrymen to think of

1. We may call this fragment "Eunomia," following the practice of W. Jaeger and others. It is impossible to give here the abundant literature which has appeared in the last two or three decades on Solon and this poem in particular. I therefore restrict myself to quoting the most important studies directly related to our problem. More detailed bibliographies can be found, besides in *L'Année Philologique*, in Diehl's 3rd edition of *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, fasc. 1 (1949) by R. Beutler, 20 f. and 27; F. E. Adcock, *CAH IV* (1926) 36 ff.; H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* (Munich 1950) 95, 110-115; F. M. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums* (Leiden 1938), II 1024; G. M. Kirkwood, *A Survey of Recent Publications Concerning Classical Greek Lyric Poetry*, *CW* 47 (1953-54), 33 ff., esp. 36; W. J. Woodhouse, *Solon the Liberator* (Oxford 1938) 209-216, and in the following: E. Balogh, with the collaboration of F. M. Heichelheim, *Political Refugees in Ancient Greece from the Period of the Tyrants to Alexander the Great* (Johannesburg 1943) 1-10 with notes; C. M. Bowra, *Early Greek Elegists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938) 73-104, esp. 78-86; several studies

by V. Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum* (Leipzig 1921) 83 ff.; *Charisteria A. Rzach* (Reichenberg 1930) 22 ff.; "When did the polis rise?" *JHS* 57 (1937) 147 ff.; *Aspects of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1946) ch. 6, 89 ff.; "Origins of Democracy," *Historia* 1 (1950) 515 ff.; H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* (New York 1951) 289-313; K. Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon* (Oxford 1926) esp. 207 ff.; K. Hönn, *Solon, Staatsmann und Weiser* (Vienna 1953) 64 ff., bibliography 232-236; W. Jaeger, *Solon's Eunomie*, (*SPAW* 1926) 69 ff., *Paideia I* (2d ed.; Berlin 1936) 189 ff.; Engl. transl. [New York 1939] 139 ff.; I. M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (Berkeley 1919) 140 ff. (text and translation), 194 ff. (commentary), 311 ff. (index and bibliography); T. C. Sinclair, *A History of Greek Political Thought* (London 1952) 22 ff.; G. Vlastos, "Solonian Justice," *CP* 41 (1946) 65 ff.; id., "Equality and Justice in Early Greek Cosmologies," *CP* 42 (1947) 156 ff.; id., "Isonomia," *AJP* 74 (1953) 337-366.

history, ancient and recent, and therefore to unite in the interest of the national safety.

This gives, I think, quite a fair illustration of the problems modern democracy is faced with.

But we can add that the difficulties Mr. Auriol refers to are actually as old as the institution itself, that they are included in the very definition of the word. For the "rule of the [sovereign] people"² means two things, privileges and responsibilities for everyone in the democratic State. We should say that democracy is the ideal form of government, because it gives to every member of the State the greatest amount of personal freedom and an equal share in the laws, and because everyone gets the best chance to benefit from the common good. But since the members of the State actually are human individuals, who usually care for their own advantage above all other things, democracy always becomes the most endangered of all governmental institutions. Few men realize that wrong actions of small units of citizens, or even single persons, have their repercussions upon the State as a whole. And if the State suffers, every single citizen suffers. Thus the wrongdoers eventually harm themselves.

In this way the implications of Mr. Auriol's words may be set down as the teaching of the Athenian lawgiver Solon, who wrote his "Eunomia" when the idea of democracy first arose in Greece.

The actual form and the import of Solon's reforms have been much debated.³ This is not the place to enter into details, but I think all can agree on this: It is Solon's merit to have modified the aristocratic structure of the Athenian government by giving the whole citizenry

more rights and greater control over its rulers. Thus, in fact, he laid the foundations of the Athenian democracy. That he acted in the spirit of true democracy is evident from a reading of the poem.

I submit an almost literal translation⁴ of the poem based on the extant text as established by Diehl. Following this, we can proceed to a discussion of its contents.

Our City will never perish, according to Jove's fateful decree and the mind of the blessed ever-living gods: for so true a great-hearted guardian, Pallas Athene, the mighty father's daughter, spreads her hands over it. Nay, the citizens themselves, through their folly, wish to ruin our great City (5) yielding to their desire for riches, also the unrighteous mind of the people's leaders, who presently will suffer many pains

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2. Cf. J. A. O. Larsen, "The Judgment of Antiquity on Democracy," CP 49 (1954), 1 ff., notes p. 14, and his general reflections at the end of his study; Vlastos, "Isonomia," 354; Sinclair, *op. cit.* 33; and *infra*. We are not concerned here with the external history of democracy in Greece and Rome but only with the idea itself as anticipated by Solon in his poem to the Athenians.

3. See the works and studies mentioned above note 1. Modern scholars, indeed, differ greatly from each other in their appraisal of Solon's reforms. New light has been drawn on the whole question by Sinclair and Vlastos.

4. I quote the following translations, without pretending completeness: Bowra, *loc. cit.* (with paraphrase); J. M. Edmonds in *Elegy and Iambus* (Loeb Classical Library) I 116 ff.; Fränkel, *loc. cit.* (with paraphrase; Fränkel brings up wholly new aspects in the interpretation of archaic poetry which cannot be overlooked by anyone who works in this field); Freeman, Hönn, Linforth; E. Preime, Solon, *Dichtungen, griechisch und deutsch in den Versmassen des Urtextes übertragen* (Leipzig 1940).

because of their insolence (*hybris*); for they do not understand how to check their overfed gluttony⁵ and to bring into order soberly the enjoyments offered to them at the banquet (10) . . . [lacuna] but they are rich, yielding to unrighteous deeds (11) . . . [lacuna]. They spare neither sacred nor public goods; they rob and steal everywhere, and they do not heed the solemn foundations of Dike (Justice), who witnesses silently all things which happen and which have already happened (15), but in the course of time surely comes to avenge. This is the inevitable sore which is coming right now to the entire City, and soon it (the City) must drop into evil oppression which rouses from sleep party rancour and civil war that destroys the lovely prime of life of many people (20); for our beloved City quickly becomes consumed by the ill-affected in conspiracies which please unrighteous men. These are the evils which roam through the population;⁶ but many of the poor come to foreign lands, sold and bound in unseemly fetters (25) . . . [lacuna]. Thus the public evil comes to everyone in his house; the door of the court yard is no longer willing to hold it back, but it leaps over the high fence and finds (its victim) surely, even though one might flee and hide in the innermost corner of the chamber. These are the teachings which my mind urges me to tell the Athenians (30), that *Dysnomia* (Lawlessness) has ready a great many evils for our City, whereas *Eunomia* (Good Law, Good Order) shows forth all things harmoniously ordered and well fitting and, oftentimes, imposes fetters on the unrighteous men; she smoothes that which is rough, makes cease overfed gluttony, weakens insolence, and withers the budding flowers of ruin (35); she makes straight crooked judgements and mitigates arrogant deeds; she puts an end to the acts of disunion and finishes the wrath of painful discord: through her all thing among men fit together and are wisely ordered.

The poem has one leading idea which is spoken out only toward the end, namely (31 f.): "that *Dysnomia* has a great many evils ready for our City, whereas *Eunomia* shows forth all things harmoniously ordered and well fitting".⁷

5. Linforth's rendering "full-fed lust" comes most close to the sense.

6. This translation of *en dêmoi* will be justified below, note 16.

7. Cp. Jaeger, *Eunomie*, p. 81, where he points to the sharp, very impressive contrast between these two verses terminating the first part of the poem and beginning the second one. But, besides, there is a concrete political conception condensed into these two verses.

What precedes, and what has been brought into focus by these two verses, is the description of a national disaster and its development out of irresponsible actions of selfishly wicked members of the community.

The idea of responsibility is emphatically raised at the very beginning of the elegy: Not the gods (1-4), but the citizens themselves aim at the ruin of our City; for in their foolish greediness they have in mind only their own enrichment (5-6). The other evil root is the "unrighteous mind of the people's leaders", and both, the citizens and their leaders, soon will suffer because of their great *hybris* (7-8), a word which has here, as often, the sense of "going over the right measure".⁸ The following metaphor gives the explanation: ". . . for they do not understand how to check their overfed gluttony and to bring into order soberly the enjoyments offered to them at the banquet" (9-10).

Evidently, this distich contains a homogenous picture,⁹ and the primitive sense of *koros*, i.e., satiety, surfeit, must be preserved. What Solon wants to say to his fellow citizens, is this: Like those foolish people who do not know how to control their appetite at a party, the citizens and their leaders never are satisfied, although they could make a good and cheerful life. They think only of getting richer.

Three other passages in the extant fragments of Solon express the same idea. In his "Elegy to the Muses" (fr.1 D.), after a long description of the race for wealth (43-62), he says in his conclusion (71 ss.):¹⁰

No apparent limit for riches is set forth to men; for those of us who now have the greatest amount of wealth make double effort; who could satiate all of them?

An even closer connection with our metaphor

8. Cf. M. P. Nilsson's discussion of *koros* and *hybris*, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I 699ff.: *Hybris*, already in Homer, comes close to *hyper moron*, i.e., the pretension of man to be more or to get more than it has been accorded to him.—The verses of Theognis, quoted by Nilsson (699, note 7) in the same connection, express the same idea as in the metaphorical passage which follows immediately in our poem: Surfeit (satiety), much more than hunger, has brought perdition to men who wanted more than their due portion.

9. There is no reason, as some modern scholars do, not to take these lines in their literal sense, and that all the more because Solon is fond of metaphors.

10. Cp. Bowra, *op. cit.* 81.

appears in the two other fragments:

But you, calm down your fierce heart in your breast, you who arrived to the satiety of manifold goods, and bring your overweening mind into measure . . . fr. 4.5ff. D.),
and

for surfeit begets *hybris* if great riches are bestowed upon men whose mind is not rightly fitted (fr. 5.7f. D.).

In all these passages the same relation as in our elegy appears: Wealth and well being bring surfeit and hunger for greater riches and are thus the cause of *hybris* or fierce, overweening mind which ought to be checked.

This part of the poem ends in the following isolated pentameter (11) which plainly is concerned with running after fortune. The passage may, perhaps, be reconstructed like this: "(they never are satisfied with what they have) but they enrich themselves . . ."

In this same verse new progress is made. For, as Solon says, the citizens and their leaders let themselves be guided by unrighteous deeds (*adikōis ergmasi peithomenoi*). Previously we have been told only about their "unrighteous mind". Instead of a quality of character, which certainly may be unethical but cannot be checked by justice, there are wrongful actions now which are in open conflict with the law.¹¹

Thus the citizens soon will be entangled in crimes (12-16). Not to speak of harming their

neighbors (a topic which may have been treated in the *lacuna* after 11), they plunder the public and sacred goods. Thus they do not heed the solemn foundations of Dike, the goddess of justice, who silently is aware of all present and past events but sooner or later will come to avenge. Dike, who, at the beginning, was affected only under the surface, is now physically off balance. Thus the mischief has arrived and will lead, step by step, to the eventual disaster.¹²

The doom which will come over the whole City is inescapable, Solon goes on (17), for it is already here sleeping (19), i.e., immanent, virtually existent, and it waits to be awakened. Here we once more find a chain of events logically developed from beginning to end (17-23). The interpretation has to start from the distich at verses 21/22, as *gar* indicates. There the explanation to the events narrated in the three foregoing verses is given by depicting the background upon which the disaster is spreading out: In a city where there is no order nor justice political antagonism and conspiracies arise and are fomented by the ill-affected,¹³ who struggle for wealth and power. This brings the city into *doulosyne*, a word which means here "bondage, subjection" under the rule of one or a few single men (18 cf. fr. 8.4 D.); this again leads to opposition, and *stasis* ("party rancour, strife") and finally *polemos* ("civil war") result, and then many people must die in their prime (19, 20).¹⁴

Thus far, then, we can discern three stages in the poem. They are:

- 1) the natural disposition of the citizens and their leaders, i.e., their wickedness (7), their *hybris*, their greed (6), and hunger for greater riches (8ff.).

These qualities, especially the last one, lead to

- 2) bad deeds and crimes, until Dike finally is struck to her foundations (11-14, including two *lacunae*).

11. Cf. Jaeger, *Eunomie*, 79 f.

12. Cf. Sinclair, *op. cit.* 23 f.

13. Fränkel, *op. cit.* 294, qualifies the reading of verse 22 as incomprehensible. But, with the slight emendation of *philais* instead of *philois*, by Bergk, the verse fits perfectly into the whole passage. It seems to me that we have here one of the cases of archaic composition so well explained by Fränkel himself. The account starts from a point which fits best in the context and goes forward and backward, instead of following the—for us conventional—straight line of telling one thing after another. This same kind of composition occurs above, verses 8 ff.

11. This, by the way, explains why *chrēmasi peithomenoi* (above, verse 6) cannot be taken as merely expletive words (so Jaeger, *Eunomie*, 71, n. 1, rightly against Wilamowitz). Our two verses (6 and 11) are to be understood in connection with fr. 1.7 ff. D. There Solon says that he wants to possess riches, but that he does not wish to have them acquired in an unrighteous way. And he explains (9 ff.): The wealth which the gods bestow on man is lasting (this then is the right way wealth has been gotten); but if men pay honor to wealth under the impulse of *hybris*, then it comes not in an orderly, harmonious way (*ou kata kosmon*), but yielding to *unrighteous deeds* (here the same words: *adikōis ergmasi peithomenos* occur, but applied to the object of man's endeavor, wealth, instead of depicting his activities, as in our passage); it follows, obeys rather unwillingly, and soon mischief joins company. The meaning of the whole passage 1.7ff. is clear: Solon wants to become wealthy (and he cannot be blamed for that; this is only human), but he wants riches to be bestowed on him in a proper, lawful way. *He is not chrēmasi peithomenos*, for this can lead only to the ruin of the single individual or his offspring (discussed in the first part of fr. 1 D.) and the State (discussed in our elegy). (On the interpretation of Fr. 1 D. see E. Römisch, *Studien zur älteren griechischen Elegie* (1933).

Now the control has completely slipped out of the citizens' hands, and Dike comes into action. She avenges herself by

3) a chain of almost natural events, conspiracies (21), oppression (18), uprisings of the people, and civil war, leading to the complete ruin of the City (19 f.).

These three stages concern only the State as a whole and the dangers incurred by it if disorder and lawlessness prevail. This is the meaning of verse 23: all this is going on in public.

But even the individual citizen cannot afford to conduct an isolated life, relying on himself only.¹⁵ For the common disaster surely has its repercussions on the individual. First there are the poor indebted citizens who are sold into slavery and must leave their homeland (23-25, cf. fr. 24.8ff. D.). The lacuna after verse 25 must have dwelt on the same topic.¹⁶ In the age of Solon the ruling classes in Greek city-states were frequently violently overthrown by their opponents. On these occasions many rich and powerful people were killed or exiled and their properties confiscated. It is well to bear these facts in mind. They prove that Solon and his audience knew exactly what was at stake.

15. In connection with this passage, we can understand the meaning of Solon's law, recorded by Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 13.5 and by Plutarch at different passages (cp. Balogh-Heichelheim, *op. cit.* 9 f. with note 20, where complete bibliography is given), punishing by *atimia* (proscription; for the meaning see Balogh-Heichelheim, n. 22) the citizen who, in time of stasis joins neither party. As Plutarch (*Solon* 20.1) says, the intention of this law seems to be that the individual should not be indifferent toward the community (to *koinon*), having made his private affairs secure and taking pride in the fact that he has no share in the sickness of his country, instead of joining the more righteous case. (Cf. Freeman *op. cit.* 138 f., Vlastos, "Solonian Justice" 72.)

16. This is really the contrast which Solon wanted to express by *men* and *de* in verse 23. Most scholars have taken the following verses (23-25) alone as the antithesis to the foregoing public disaster, without thinking of the possibility that the lacuna after 25 might have carried on the running thought. Thus, *en dêmoi* has mostly been translated and explained as "at home" (a meaning which, of course, this expression has very often), as opposite to the sufferings of the poor people abroad. But this would imply a serious logical shortcoming. For the idea is that the public disaster reaches everyone, not only a section of the citizenry (many of the poor). This can be shown by viewing together verses 17, 23, and 25: the previous part of the poem is framed in by verses 17 and 23, which are obviously related to each other. The City in its entirety is reached by the evil which no one can escape, and this evil roams through the public, i.e., it concerns the

Such dreadful events had already happened in Athens and could happen again and again.¹⁷

Solon comes now to his conclusion, and at the same time, to the high point of the elegy (26-29). Thus, he says, the public evil reaches everyone in his own dwelling. No door is solid enough, no fence high enough but evil leaps across and finds its victim surely, although he may hide in the innermost corner of his chamber. For there is no escape for anyone from public disaster.

Up to this point, Solon considers the evil consequences of the wrong doing. This is the negative part of his message, which he concludes here. For, as he summarizes, this it is which he had in mind to tell the Athenians, namely, that *Dysnomia* has many evils ready for the City (30-31). In these words, combined with those of the following verse, we have recognized the leading thought of the poem.¹⁸

What follows (32-38) is the praise of *Eunomia* (Good Order), *Dysnomia*'s divine antagonist. This part may perhaps be called an encomium in verse, as a comparison with compositions of this literary genus will prove easily. The end of Agathon's discourse on *Eros* in Plato's *Symposium* (197 D), for instance, is of striking resemblance.

But I want to point to another fact: This praise of good order is not only loosely connected with the preceding verses, but there is an inner relation to the whole foregoing poem. For it touches all the topics brought before in the main part and enumerates them in the same logical order.

citizenry as a whole, the *dêmos*. The next step is to demonstrate how the public disaster affects the individual. Solon begins with the poor and those in debt, where the repercussions are felt most immediately. Then he must have shown how the other classes of the citizens will be touched too. Only thus does verse 23 get its whole import as closing line of the foregoing part and transition to the following metaphor: Thus (namely in the way described before) the public evil (*dêmosion kakon* takes up *en dêmoi strephetai kaka*, and *dêmosios* can signify, as medical term, epidemic disease) comes to everyone in his [own] house.

17. Here belongs, e.g., Cylon's insurrection with all its repercussions on himself, his followers, and on his adversaries, the Alcmaeonidae, related by Herodotus (5.71), Thucydides (1.126), and others. Cp. Balogh-Heichelheim, *op. cit.* 5 ff., n. 13. Solon witnessed this bloody event in his early youth. The instances can easily be multiplied; cf. Hdt. 1.150, *passim*.

18. Cp. Jaeger, *Eunomie*, 71, 81 ff. But it is not enough to speak merely about "tangent circles".

The main and the concluding parts are linked together by the introductory verse (32) which states that *Eunomia* renders all things well ordered. But, beginning with the next verse (33) to the end of the elegy, terms or topics correspond so closely with those voiced above, that it is impossible to speak of mere coincidence. This may easily be shown by putting down the Greek words of the "encomium" next to the passage to which they refer: *adikois* (33) :: *adikos noos* (7); *koron, hybrin* (34) :: *hybris* (8), *koron* (9); *dikas skolias* (36) :: *Dikēs themthla* (14); *hyperēphana erga* (36) :: *adikois ergmasi*, etc. (11-14); *erga dichostasias* (37) :: *stasin* (19); *argaleēs eridos* (38) :: *polemon* (19).

With its last verse (39), the last verse of the poem, the encomium returns to its point of departure (32), applying the same technique of reiteration *artia kai pinyta* (39) :: *eukosma kai artia* (32). Only two topics of the final part are found without correspondence above. These are: *trachea leiainei* (34) and *auainei atēs anthea phyomena* (35). But they fit easily into the context, as we shall see.

This symmetrical form of composition is certainly intended, but we must ask for its significance. Solon wants to show most emphatically that all his previously uttered apprehensions are unfounded in a well-ordered State. The wicked can not do much harm (33, 7) because they are checked at the very beginning, and wrong which has been done (or social injustice which has come up) will soon be rectified. (This is the import of "smoothing of rough things" [34] found without correspondence.) Surfeit will cease, for the citizens will know how to check it (34, 9), and, therefore, *hybris*, its natural outgrowth, cannot have the disastrous consequences described above (34, 8). These consequences are summarized in verse 35 (she withers the budding flowers of ruin; without correspondence above). Thus arrogant deeds which have been so grimly depicted (11-13) cannot take their dreadful dimensions (36), and Dike's foundations will not be harmed by warped judgements (36, 14).¹⁹ And finally, neither discord nor civil war will ruin the City (37-38, 19-22).

We may say that the end of the elegy demon-

strates in elevated style how easily public affairs could be well regulated under good order, and how they are distorted, and even pernicious, when bad order prevails.

Now that we have seen the poem as a whole, we can pose our question in more definite language: What does Solon think about the citizen's responsibilities toward the State?

The fundamental idea of the elegy, stated in the affirmative, is that every single member of the State, the "people's leaders" as well as the governed, has his share in the maintenance of good order, the continuance of good order being in his own interest. For everyone is tied to the welfare of the State in which he lives.

But how can the single citizen be led toward the good? Obviously by education. Here, once more, Solon is our guide. For, as can easily be shown by the extant fragments, his poems are eminently educational; ²⁰ he never grows tired of showing to his countrymen what is fitting to a citizen—or, rather, what is not. ²¹ Thus he denounces greed, arrogance, but most of all the wrong itself. No wrong remains unavenged, he asserts, and if the father escapes, his children have to pay for his wicked actions. Then there are his warnings against those leaders who misuse their position to enrich themselves or to increase their power, and his self-defence against those who ridiculed or accused him, because he had not acted in this wicked way.

But, one might ask, is it possible to base statesmanship on these purely ethical principles as Solon evidently did? We may add that his constitution, and, later on, the Athenian democracy both existed only for very short periods, mainly because the individual citizens failed to heed Solon's teachings.²²

Actually, here we touch upon an age-old conflict between two political conceptions. The one, departing from those ethical principles as claimed by Solon, maintains that every individual member of the State, governor as well as governed, must participate in public affairs. There-

20. This is stated by Plutarch (*Solon* 3.3); cf. Jaeger, *Eunomie*, 72 on the educational character of the ancient Greek elegy.

21. Besides our elegy, see, e.g., the passages in his elegy to the Muses (1 D.); further, fragments. 5; 8; 10; 24 Diehl.

22. Cf. the anecdote told by Plutarch about Anacharsis' visit paid to Solon and his apophthegm, which, even if invented, illustrates the situation very well (*Solon* 5.2-3).

19. I naturally am aware that *dikai* and *Dikē* are not congruent in their meaning. But the mere word *dikai* suggests the thought of the goddess, and crooked judgements belong to her realm and are punished by her.

fore the people must have the means of controlling those entrusted with the business of government. The ultimate aim of this school is good order in the State, reached by an harmonious effort of all citizens, out of their own free will. This may be acknowledged as the true democratic principle.

The other school of thought asserts that nothing good can be achieved by the inert masses, that only a few individuals, "the best," are worthy of being entrusted with the care of the people. Their aim is actually the same as that of their opponents, namely good order, but they claim that it cannot be reached without resorting to some kind of force or violence, the end justifying the means. This principle must lead to some form of oligarchy or monarchy.

Since Herodotus (3.80-82), who presents this conflict in the form of a vicious circle,²³ there has been much guessing which of the three governmental forms (democracy, oligarchy, monarchy) is the best one.

Up to the present time, a solution to this problem has not been found. Perhaps man's nature prevents him from reaching a final decision determining the form of government which should be recognized as the ideal one; even though it seems as if the democratic idea is prevailing today. We have however been taught by the latest events in history that no government can last if the ethical standards, as set down by Solon for his countrymen, are not observed by both, citizens and governors. But if these standards exist, the best form of government is democracy.

This is the answer to Mr. Auriol's plea which Solon anticipated by more than 2500 years.

MANFRED HALBERSTADT

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23. This passage has been often discussed lately, most convincingly by Sinclair, *op. cit.* 36 ff., who takes it in its entirety and explains it as a discussion in the manner of those held by the Greek philosophers of Herodotus' time. It is certainly wrong to isolate the different parts and to draw any conclusion, to which of the three forms of government, in Herodotus' or any other's view, preference ought to be given. For each discourse shows what is wrong with the governmental form praised by the preceding speaker and proposes the remedies, and the first discourse anticipates the wrongs of the last one. — I do not think that the discussion about this remarkable passage can be considered as closed.

A TERENCEAN PATTERN OF NEGATION

Where Latin authors itemize or strengthen general introductory negatives by subjoining elements introduced by two or more *neque*'s, the word order is one of two types: either the period is complete in sense and syntax before the disjunctive negatives are employed, or the disjunctive negatives are used within a period.¹ Compare Plautus *Most.* 263 f., *non istanc aetatem oportet pigmentum ullum attingere, / neque cerussam neque Melinam neque aliam offuciam* (disjunctive negatives added to a complete period); *Capt.* 76, *quos numquam quisquam neque uocat neque inuocat* (disjunctive negatives used within a period).

These two types of the negative pattern I shall regard here as nothing more than different types of word order; but I attach some importance to Terence's obvious predilection for that type in which the disjunctive negatives are added to a period complete in sense. In passages whose syntax is clear he uses this type four times; the other type, not at all: *nil relinquo in aedibus / nec uas nec uestimentum* (*Haut.* 140 f.); *nil suscenseo / nec tibi nec tibi* (*Haut.* 976 f.); *habeo hic neminem / neque amicum neque cognatum* (*Eun.* 147 f.); *PA. unde is? CH. egone? nescio hercle, neque unde eam / neque quorsum eam* (*Eun.* 305f.). Since Terence so strongly inclines to making his characters express themselves in this way, we can safely follow intrinsic probability in discerning the meaning of two much argued over Terentian passages and in establishing the text of another.

About halfway through the *Andria*, Simo, father of Pamphilus, urges his contemporary and friend Chremes to marry Chremes' daughter Philumena to Pamphilus in spite of Pamphilus' recent notorious attachment to Glycerium. Pertinent are verses 560-564:

*SI. spero consuetudine et
coniugio liberali deuinctum, Chremes,
dein facile ex illis emersurum malis.
CH. tibi ita hoc uidetur; et ego non posse
arbitror
neque illum hanc perpetuo habere neque me
perpeti.*

There are two main lines of interpretation

1. Cf. O. Jespersen, *Negation in English and Other Languages* (K. Dansk. Vidensk. Selskabs., Hist.-Filol. Med., 1.5; Copenhagen 1917-18) 72.

traceable far back through the years.² The one here rejected, principally in view of Terence's liking for what I may call the quasi afterthought negative pattern, adds in thought to Simo's closing words *eum sese emergere* and understands this infinitive phrase to complement *posse* in vs. 563, then supplies *posse* before both *habere* and *perpeti*, to make Chremes' speech mean, "That's what you think. But I don't think he can—and he can't go on keeping that woman, nor would I stand for it."³

According to the other interpretation, which I accept, the absolute *non posse* "not to be possible"⁴ is strengthened and made explicit by the disjunctive *neque*'s. Chremes protests: "That's your view. But I think it's no go—that he can't be faithful to her [Philumena] and that I can't stand for it."⁵ The usage of Terence strongly supports this interpretation, whereas there is apparently no stronger published argument against it than that presented by G. P. Phipp:⁶ "Others take *non . . . neque . . . neque* as a double nega-

tive, but this destroys the contrast with what Simo has said." Quite the contrary. According to the interpretation I favor, whether we refer *hanc* to Philumena or to Glycerium, Chremes' emphatic protest of what he will not stand for, prefaced as it is by *at*, contrasts strongly with Simo's designing optimism.

In *Ad.* 291 f. Sostrata, a widow and mother of Pamphila, is greatly concerned about her daughter, who has been brought to bed of a child by Aeschinus: *neminem habeo (solae sumus; Geta autem hic non adest) / nec quem ad obstetricem mittam, nec qui accersat Aeschinum*. Here Spengel was perhaps the first editor⁷ helpfully and accurately to punctuate with parentheses; and his punctuation has been accepted quite generally, indicating the interpretation, "I have no one . . . either to send for a midwife or to call Aeschinus." But Bentley,⁸ not realizing that the crucial vs. 292 was a trochaic octonarius, a meter used by Terence in alternation with other meters, seems to have retarded understanding of the syntax by writing *Et versus, qui iambicus esse debet, et sententia legi postulant Nec est quem ad obstetricem mittam, nec qui accersat Aeschinum*. At any rate, Bentley's interpretation of the sense is shared by J. Sargeant in the Loeb edition and the anonymous translator of the *Ad.* in *The Complete Roman Drama*.⁹

As *Eun.* 722, part of a passage written in trochaic septenarii, the Bembine MS has the metrically impossible, . . . *quod scis nescis de istoc eunucho neque de uitio uirginis*. The metrically satisfactory reading of the other MSS, of the Calliopian recension, is: . . . *quod scis or [scias] nescis neque de eunucho neque de uitio uirginis*. This latter version, accepted by recent editors (Dziatzko, Ashmore, Lindsay, Marouzeau, Prete) presents the intrinsically probable negative pattern of the quasi afterthought type. Presumably the *neque* following *nescis* was lost by haplography, and the *-cis* of *nescis* engendered the spurious *istoc*. Terence's word order in this negative pattern is similar to the word order of both Plautus and Terence where pleonastic *haud* follows *neque*, a usage analyzed by E. Johnston:¹⁰

2. A third interpretation, that of E. H. Sturtevant, ed. of *And.* (New York 1914), n. on vs. 563 f., would be plausible had we no surer guide in Terentian usage itself: "*Non posse neque* means 'can't not do so and so,' i.e., can't help'; compare Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 9.14.1, *non possum non confiteri*. Translate 'but I think he can't help keeping this woman for good and all, and I can't help allowing it.'"

3. F. O. Copley, tr. of *And.* (New York 1949). So also, e.g., the notes to editions of the play by C. Freeman and A. Sloman (Oxford 1897) and H. R. Fairclough (Boston 1901); and the notes to S. G. Ashmore's second edition of the complete plays (New York 1910).

4. At least in the following passages of Terence forms of *posse* are used in the absolute sense: *And.* 327, *Haut.* 777, *Phorm.* 303, and *Ad.* 568. I realize that in *And.* 563 f. *posse* is not used absolutely in the strictest sense, for its subjects and complementary infinitives follow it; but I am establishing that it would be quite Terentian to stop Chremes' speech after *arbitror*, and that consequently there is here an instance of the quasi afterthought negative pattern.

5. My translation. Cf. also F. Vogel, *Ter. Andria in Graecum Conversa* (Progr. d. Bugenhagen Gymn., 1863); J. Sargeant, Loeb ed. of *Ter.*; and J. Marouzeau, Budé ed. of *Ter.* (Paris 1947).

I think that it is impossible to determine absolutely whether *hanc* refers to Philumena or to Glycerium; but it is natural that Chremes should use the demonstrative of the first person in referring to his own daughter. Contrary to Ashmore's comment that *hanc* is contemptuous, it may even have an affectionate ring: note that Vergil, *Aen.* 1.261-263, make Jupiter, in his speech intended to reassure Venus, use *hic* of Aeneas: *hic tibi . . . bellum ingens geret Italia . . .*

6. Ed. of *And.* (Oxford 1938).

7. Ed. of *Ter.* (Berlin 1879).

8. Ed. 2 of *Ter.* (Amsterdam 1722).

9. New York: Random House, 1942, II 418.

10. *De Sermonibus Terentianis Quaeest. Duae* (Königsberg diss., 1905) 19.

Atque notandum est duo verba *neque haud* pronomine semper disiungi . . . Similiter potest Anglice dici si pronomem inter dua negativa vocis sono graviore enuntiatur. Possumus *And. 205* [*neque tu haud dicas tibi non praedictum.*] *convertere nor you, don't say you have not been warned.* Locutio paene esse anacoluthon videtur, ut negatio quae in *neque* est pronominis auctoritate neglegatur, tum verbo *haud* repetatur.

Delayed action word order in re-enforcing negation is a significant characteristic of Terence's style.

PAUL R. MURPHY

OHIO UNIVERSITY

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER, 1954-1955

The Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States was held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on Friday and Saturday, April 29 and 30, 1955, with the University of Pittsburgh as host. The Pennsylvania State Association of Classical Teachers and The Classical Association of Pittsburgh and Vicinity met jointly with the Classical Association of the Atlantic States. All sessions, including the dinner meeting, were held in the Cathedral of Learning of the University of Pittsburgh.¹

The annual business meeting of the Association was held in Room 232 of the Cathedral of Learning on Saturday afternoon, April 30, beginning at 2:00 o'clock, with President Earl L. Crum presiding. The Secretary-Treasurer read to the members letters of congratulations received from the Secretary-Treasurers of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. A letter received from the Executive Secretary of the American Academy in Rome relative to Fulbright awards was also read.²

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer showed that as of March 31, 1955, the Association had 657 members, of which 527 were subscribers to *The Classical Weekly*. In his report of the Financial Account of the Association he stated that Receipts through the fiscal year beginning

April 11, 1954 and ending March 31, 1955, amounted to \$2881.30, and that Expenditures during the same period amounted to \$3106.84, leaving a Deficit of \$225.54.

In his report of the Financial Account of *The Classical Weekly*, the Secretary-Treasurer announced Receipts in the amount of \$6073.61 for the fiscal year, and Expenditures of \$3895.59 for the same period, leaving a Balance of \$2178.02.

In his statement of the Rome Scholarship Fund of the Association for the period extending from April 11, 1954 to March 31, 1955, the Secretary-Treasurer reported a Balance of \$79.63 from the year 1953-1954, and contributions of \$105.45 for the year 1954-1955, thus giving a total of \$185.08 in Receipts. No Expenditure from this Account was reported, as the Scholarship Award for the fiscal year had not yet been made.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Secretary-Treasurer be approved. Motion carried.

Professor James W. Poultny gave a report for the Rome Scholarship Committee. He announced Dr. Ralph E. Marcellino of Holliswood, New York, as recipient of the Scholarship for 1954-1955.

Professor Edward B. Stevens, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following report for that Committee:

Be it resolved that the Classical Association of the Atlantic States be under great and lasting obligation to the interested individuals and groups who have so kindly and generously contributed to the success of the Association's Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting, held at the Cathedral of Learning in the University of Pittsburgh, April 29 and 30, 1955.

Be it also resolved that the Classical Association of the Atlantic States give particular expression of its gratitude to the members of the local Committee on Arrangements and Hospitality with special reference to the tireless services of this committee's chairman, Professor Arthur M. Young of the University of Pittsburgh, to Professor Eugene W. Miller of the same institution, and to Sister Maria Thecla of the Sacred Heart High School, to whose Latin students we are indebted for the Latin *tesserae* and Latin menus which added so much to the pleasantness and appropriateness of our annual banquet.

Be it further resolved that we acknowledge our indebtedness to the University of Pittsburgh,

1. The program of the meeting was published in CW 48 (1954-55) 95-98.

2. See Notes and News this issue.

to Dr. Stanton C. Crawford, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, to the Humanities Society of this University, and to the Very Reverend Vernon F. Gallagher, President of Duquesne University, so ably represented by Father James A. Phalen.

Be it finally resolved that our deep sense of gratitude be conveyed to the speaker of our banquet, Professor Fritz Ernst of Heidelberg University, Heidelberg, Germany.

Respectfully submitted,
Phyllis Winquist
Edward B. Stevens, *Chairman*

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be accepted. Motion carried.

Mrs. Mabel F. Murray presented the following report for the Committee on Nominations for the year 1955-56:

For President: Professor John F. Latimer, The George Washington University; for Vice-Presidents: Professor W. Edward Brown, Lafayette College, and Professor Frank C. Bourne, Princeton University; for Secretary-Treasurer, Professor F. Gordon Stockin, Houghton College; for Secretary for Distribution of Publications, Professor Stanislaus A. Akielaszek, Fordham University; for Officer-At-Large, Professor Earl L. Crum, Lehigh University; for Regional Representatives: from Delaware: Miss Julia B. Jones, Tower Hill School, Wilmington; from the District of Columbia: Professor Bernard M. Peebles, The Catholic University of America; from Maryland: Professor James W. Poultney, The Johns Hopkins University; from New Jersey: Mrs. Phyllis Winquist, Roselle Park High School, Roselle Park, and Professor Carolyn E. Bock, State Teachers College, Upper Montclair; from New York: Professor Gordon M. Kirkwood, Cornell University; Professor Moses Hadas, Columbia University, and Miss Florence E. Raanes, Brooklyn College; from Pennsylvania: Professor John G. Glenn, Gettysburg College; Miss Margery McClure, Mt. Lebanon High School, Mt. Lebanon, and Professor Edward B. Stevens, Muhlenberg College; for Editor of *The Classical Weekly*: Professor Edward A. Robinson, Fordham University; for Representative on the Council of The American Classical League: Professor F. Gordon Stockin, Houghton College; for Editor for the Atlantic States, Editorial Board of *The Classical Journal*: Professor Franklin B. Krauss, The Pennsylvania State University.

Respectfully submitted,
Mabel F. Murray
Gordon M. Kirkwood
John G. Glenn
Eugene W. Miller, *Chairman*

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee on Nominations be accepted as read. Motion carried.

A motion was made and seconded that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for the slate of nominees. Motion carried.

A cordial welcome was extended to the new President, Professor John F. Latimer, and appropriate words with a rising vote of thanks were extended to the retiring President, Professor Earl L. Crum.

A motion was made and seconded that the business session be adjourned. Motion carried. Meeting adjourned at 2:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,
F. Gordon Stockin,
Secretary-Treasurer

REVIEWS

Die Antike und Europa: Internationaler Altphilologenkongress in Berlin vom 27. bis. 31. Mai 1953. Wortlaut der Vorträge und Bericht über die Sitzungen. Edited by FRANZ BÖMER and HANS HAAS. ("Gymnasium," Bd. 61, Heft 1/2.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1954. Pp. 160; 4 plates.

The international congress of classical scholars and teachers which met at Berlin in May 1953, appears as an important symptom of the desire for close cooperation between the representatives of all European countries whose civilization is based on the common classical heritage. The talks given on this occasion and published in this special issue of *Gymnasium*, look like the first step to a humanistic EDC.

The speakers came from Germany, France, England, Italy, and some of the smaller countries. Some of the talks deal with the educational aspects of the Classics (A. Bork, "Jugend und Humanismus," E. Mäder, "Die abendländische Aufgabe des Lehrers der alten Sprachen," A. Rupprecht, "Politische Bildung im altsprachlichen Unterricht"; C. W. Baty, "Der griechische Unterricht als Mittler abendländischer Kulturtradition," discussing the teaching of Greek in England; J. Perret, "Les fonctions pédagogiques de l'enseignement du latin.") Other talks have a wider scope, such as K. Schefold's on Pompeii, M. Durry's on the Roman army as the basis of European unity, and W. Kranz' on

Classical Antiquity and Christianity, with fine observations on the balance of optimism and pessimism in the Hellenic world, on the Catholic and Protestant approach to the classical tradition, and on the integration of Christian and Graeco-Roman values from St. Francis to Hölderlin and Stefan George.

F. Altheim discusses "Römische Religion als Idee" in a stimulating essay on the Roman genius in general with its ability of growing by integration of foreign influences. In contrast with others, Altheim emphasizes that the spirit of Rome and of Roman religion appears not so much in primitive forms as in the great poets, statesmen, and writers, especially in Tacitus, about whom, incidentally, the author has written a brilliant article in the *Neue Rundschau* in 1953. The last stage was Aurelianus' cult of the Sun God and the *Divinitas* whom he serves and represents, which in line with concomitant neoplatonic ideas was to lead to Constantine's incorporation of Christianity in the Roman tradition.

J. A. Davison in his talk about the Homeric poems pays high tribute to Milman Parry's work of shedding light on the origin and form of the Greek epics by comparison with the surviving performance of the Serbian bards. Davison also sees in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* works of the same poet.

The subject of G. Ralf's "Platon und Aristoteles im abendländischen Bewusstsein" is the misconception in the contrast between the two master-minds of Greek philosophy as an idealist and as a realist respectively. The philosophy of either is a blend of realism and idealism, and Plato as well as Aristotle is opposed, though with different emphasis, to the extreme representatives of both concepts, as the author illustrates by detailed interpretation of passages from the *Theaetetus* and the *Sophistes*. Ralfs refers to Hegel's understanding of Plato's and Aristotle's real position, as against the misconception of philosophers from Augustine and Bonaventura to Kant, which in the world of the arts found its supreme embodiment in Goethe's famous passage in his *Farbenlehre* and in Raphael's *School of Athens*.

The first and programmatic lecture, O. Regenbogen's "Humanismus in Geschichte und Leben," deals with the great humanists and their impact upon Western civilization, from the Renaissance to Hofmannsthal and Jacob and C.

J. Burckhardt. The greatness of Wilhelm von Humboldt is deservedly stressed as that of a humanist equally successful as a man of thought and of action. Humanism as the embodiment of human dignity is presented in its high points from the twenty-fourth song of the *Iliad* and Socrates' death scene in the *Phaedo* to the Platonic and Stoic factors in the thought of the Roman aristocracy and to the Christian consummation of the Graeco-Roman heritage in Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Petrarch, and Erasmus, whose "sancta quaedam res est eruditorum societas" might have served as a motto for the entire meeting. The many quotations which illustrate the bearing of the humanistic tradition upon our own time include Burckhardt's profession of faith, in the *Bildung Alteuropas*, Thomas More's last words on the block, and the supremely modern peroratio of Cicero's *Rosciana*.

FELIX M. WASSERMANN

KANSAS WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

L'Orient et la Grèce; Rome et son empire. By A. AYMARD and J. AUBOYER ("Histoire Générale des Civilisations," I-II.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953-54. Pp. xii, 701; 48 maps; 48 plates; pp. 783; 32 maps; 48 plates. Fr. 2400, 2880 (paper); 2880, 3300 (bound).

The emphasis currently placed on social studies makes these two volumes a boon to a teacher of ancient history who attempts to give his students an adequate impression of ancient civilizations. The work of A. Aymard, Professor at the Sorbonne, is excellently suited for this purpose. With equal discernment he deals with such features as slavery, the status of women (also a paragraph on pederasty in Greece), the gods of Rome, and the libraries of ancient Mesopotamia. The "secondary" civilizations, those of the Etruscans, the Lydians, the Celts, etc., are not forgotten, but I miss a chapter on the Germans.

The interpretative commentary on social forces in the Mediterranean world, with particular accent on economic and ideological factors, is naturally presented in the appropriate political frame. The subject is treated generally by periods and then by topics. The civilization of

archaic Greece, for instance, is described in two sections, the Economic, Social and Political Evolution (pp. 257-269) and the Moral Evolution (pp. 270-290). The chapters by Mlle. Auboyer deal with India and China in antiquity.

The plates are beautifully clear, and the choice good: the view of the Roman Forum through the arch of Septimius Severus, or the head from Mohenjo-Daro, to name two examples, are superb pieces of photographic art. Yet, as so often in scholarly works, the plates remain unrelated to the text, and not explained, either. Laconic captions are disappointing, or even apt to mystify the user. "Le tombeau de la Chrétienne à Tipasa" is the caption of a plate placed in the chapter on the Celts. How can the innocent reader know that Tipasa is a place in Algeria, and that the monument reproduced on the plate is the pre-Christian mausoleum of Numidian kings?

The work has obtained a wide audience in France. The second edition of Volume I appears in 1955. As I learn from Professor Aymard, it brings no significant change, except the necessary reference to Ventris' decipherment of Minoan script.

ELIAS J. BICKERMAN

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

St. Paul and Epicurus. By NORMAN WENTWORTH DEWITT. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. Pp. vii, 201. \$4.00.

The basic idea of this book is that we can gain a new understanding of St. Paul's writings by reexamining them in the light of Paul's own knowledge of Epicureanism and the knowledge of it which he assumed in the people to whom he wrote. DeWitt argues that a good knowledge of Epicureanism was common and that numerous details show that both Paul and those to whom he addressed himself had such knowledge. We have failed to understand much that Paul said because with time the knowledge of this intellectual background has faded away.

We get a picture of a very human process: even while Paul was contending with the opposition and ridicule of the Epicureans, he was quietly appropriating some of their best ideas. He does not mention them directly at any time. It is, of course, not good rhetorical practise to

mention an opponent directly, but to make glancing pejorative references to him can be useful. If one is appropriating something from an opponent, common sense forbids mentioning the fact until one is ready to show it in the colors of one's own side. Again and again Paul wrestles with them—if we understand his oblique references to them. Again and again he borrows from them and turns their principles to new uses, but he was not naive enough to mention the source of these ideas.

It should be made plain that DeWitt has worked in a reverent spirit. Some may be offended at the mere suggestion that Christianity could owe anything to Epicurus. I can only urge them to give DeWitt a chance to state his case. Others will probably be outraged at his rewriting of some passages which in the King James version are lovely in their vagueness; the stately music will still be here, however, beside the more accurate version.

There would be something to be said for reading DeWitt's larger book, *Epicurus and his Philosophy*, before starting this one. In the earlier book the non-specialist reader is offered a long and detailed reconstruction of the essentials of Epicureanism. The two books give a powerful picture of the system of Epicurus, which has indeed been misunderstood.

The deliberate misconstruction of Epicurus' views by the ancients was a pretty thorough process. No doubt it was largely due to his advocacy of pleasure, as DeWitt suggests, and to Christian opposition. It may well be, also, that the community resented the Epicureans because they were efficiently organized into a society within a society and brusquely challenged many basic premises of the larger society, which is a sure way to arouse bitter antagonism. The Jewish and Christian societies were similarly organized within society in general and disregarding of the values of the generality; they likewise had to suffer deliberate misrepresentation.

DeWitt does not claim to have settled the matter, but "will be content with the hope of having made a definite breach in the ancient wall of prejudice and anonymity." Classical scholars will hope that their highly-respected friend will come once more and yet once more unto the breach.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

NOTES AND NEWS

The Spring meeting of the *Classical Association of the Atlantic States* was held at the University of Pittsburgh, April 29-30, 1955. Business of the meeting, including the election of officers for 1955-56 and the award of the Association's Rome Scholarship for 1955, appears in the minutes incorporated in the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer published elsewhere in this issue.

The 1955 Scholarship Examination of the *New York Classical Club* will be held on Friday, June 10, 1955, from 2 to 4 P.M., in Room 919, Hunter College, East 69th Street between Lexington and Park Avenues, New York City.

There will be four sections: Latin Second Year, Latin Third Year, Latin Fourth Year, and Greek Third Year. All the examinations are based on the recommendation of the Classical Investigation that the chief aim of instruction in both Greek and Latin should be ability to read the language. Accordingly, all the examinations will consist of passages to be read at sight and, after reading, translated into natural, idiomatic English. There will be no questions on grammar, scansion, or background, and no passages for translation into Latin or Greek.

Cash prizes are offered for the best papers in each section. Only papers of great excellence will be considered for these prizes, the Committee reserving the right to make only one or no cash award. Recognition is given to other high-ranking answers in the form of decorative pins or book prizes.

Each candidate must be an undergraduate student of a public high school in the city of New York, who is, at the date of the examination, completing a course corresponding to the section he plans to take. Students who graduated in January will be permitted to participate in the June examination if they so desire. Each candidate must bring with him to the place of

Fulbright grants may be offered for the 1956 Summer Session of the American Academy in Rome. Teachers in the classics or related disciplines who are interested in obtaining such grants should apply *during the coming summer* (1955) to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.

examination an *authorization* of his candidacy signed by the head of the appropriate department in his school.

For further information, write Prof. Procope S. Costas, Chairman, New York Classical Club Committee on Scholarship Awards, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, New York.

The list of fellowships awarded by the *John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation* for 1955-56 includes the following for classical and closely related topics: Dr. Yury Arbatsky, Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.: Historical studies of music and musical instruments, from pre-Hellenic times to the fall of Constantinople; Emmett L. Bennett, Jr., Assistant Professor of Classics, Yale University: Studies of the languages of ancient Minoan and Mycenaean inscriptions; James Frank Gilliam, Professor of History and Classics, State University of Iowa: The auxiliaries of the Roman imperial army; Arthur Ernest Gordon, Professor of Latin, University of California, Berkeley: Latin inscriptions on stone of the period of the Roman Republic; Henry Romanos Kahane, Professor of Spanish

Roman Civilization

Selected Readings, Edited with an Introduction and Notes Volume II: The Empire

NAPHTALI LEWIS AND MEYER REINHOLD, editors. Like its predecessor—Volume I, *The Republic*—this comprehensive source book contains selections from Roman and Greek literature, inscriptions, and business documents, covering politics, administration, economy, society, law, religion, and many other aspects of life in Rome and the provinces. Volume II covers the years from 27 B.C. to A.D. 337. More than 200 of the 600 selections are made available to the English-speaking public for the first time.

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and Italian, University of Illinois: The linguistic system of modern Greek.

Also Philip Merlan, Professor of Philosophy, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.: The influence of Aristotle on subsequent thought; Richard Holmes Merriam, Associate Professor of Geology, University of Southern California, Los Angeles: Study of the strength of the concretes used in ancient Roman buildings; George Emmanuel Mylonas, Professor of Archaeology, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.: Excavations of the ancient Greek city of Eleusis; James H. Oliver, Professor of Classics, Johns Hopkins University: History of Athens under the rule of Rome; William Kendrick Pritchett, Professor of Greek, University of California, Berkeley: Ancient Greek battles and battlefields; A. Arthur Schiller, Professor of Law, Columbia University: Development of the law of Rome into the law of the Roman Empire, in the period 117-235 A.D.; Morton Smith, Assistant Professor of Biblical Literature, Brown University: Studies in the history of religion, in particular of the Eastern Church in the 4th century, A. D.

The fellowships are awarded to men and women of high intellectual and personal qualifications who have already demonstrated unusual capacity for productive scholarship or unusual creative ability in the fine arts. The fellows are usually of ages between thirty and forty years; but the committee of selection also is empowered to nominate persons older than forty and younger than thirty. The fellowships are open to citizens (or, in exceptional cases, to permanent residents who are not citizens) of the United States, irrespective of race, color or creed. The foundation also offers fellowships, to assist studies to be carried on in the United States of America, to citizens of all the other American Republics, of the Republic of the Philippines, of Canada and of the British Caribbean.

Appointments are made ordinarily for one year; but plans which require longer or shorter periods also will be considered. The grants will in the normal case be \$3,000 for a year of twelve months. Members of the teaching profession who have received sabbatical leave on full or part salary are eligible for appointment; and, in general, the amount of the grant will be adjusted to the needs of each fellow, considering his other resources and the purpose and scope of his studies.

Applications for fellowships for 1956-57 must

be made in writing on or before October 15, 1955, by the candidates themselves, in the form prescribed, addressed to Henry Allen Moe, Secretary General, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. Final selection of fellows for 1956-57 will be made in March, 1956. Application forms will be mailed upon request.

A total of 47 colleges and universities in the United States and Canada, and a total of 145 student entries, were represented in the 1955 National Contests of *Eta Sigma Phi* Honorary Classical Fraternity.

Chairman of the contests is Prof. William Charles Korfmacher, director of the department of classical languages at Saint Louis University.

In the *Tenth Annual Essay Contest*, an original paper of not more than 2,250 words on "Homer, Father of Western Epic Verse," there were 20 entrants. Winners were as follows: first, Joseph E. Scannell, Jr., Georgetown University; second, Wilda Marraffino, Trinity College, Washington, D.C.; third, Carol Mayer, Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wis.; fourth, Marianne M. Jansen, Mount Mary College; fifth, Janet Ann Reck, Villa Maria College, Erie, Pa.; sixth, Dorothy Radosevich, College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minn.

In the *Sixth Annual Greek Translation Contest*, consisting in the translation into English, at sight, and without dictionary help, of a Greek passage from Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, there were 48 entrants. First, Patricia Bernice Harsant, Victoria College, University of Toronto; second, Mary Janet Grant, Victoria College; third, Charles E. Murgia, Boston College; fourth, Nancy S. Donnell, University College, University of Toronto; fifth, Darvin Raddatz, Northwestern College, Watertown, Wis.; honorable mention, Dale R. Brown, Washington and Jefferson College; John C. Overbeck, University of Oklahoma.

In the *Fifth Annual Satterfield Latin Translation Contest*, consisting in the translation into English, with dictionary and other helps allowed, of a Latin passage from Coluccio Salutati's *The Labors of Hercules*, there were 74 entrants. Winner, John Halkett, Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.; honorable mention, Nancy S. Donnell, University College, University of Toronto; H. A. Kelly, S. J., Jesuit Novitiate, Oshkosh, Wisconsin; John Morfin, S. J., Jesuit Novitiate, Osh-

kosh, Wisconsin; Deseder Seles, Saint Michael's College, University of Toronto.

In the *Fourth Annual Chapter Foreign Language Census*, limited to chapters of Eta Sigma Phi, and consisting in a computation of completed credits in foreign languages, three chapters participated, from three different schools. First, Gamma Iota Chapter, Wabash College, for the record of Carl Krumpe; second, Beta Upsilon Chapter, Marshall College, Huntington, W.Va., for Helen Milton; third Pi Chapter, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama, for Benny Ray Tucker.

BOOKS RECEIVED

BAYNES, NORMAN H. *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1955. Pp. xi, 392; frontispiece. \$7.00. (Distributed in U.S.A. by John de Graff, Inc., 64 West 23rd St., New York 10, N. Y.)

VAN DEN BRUWAENE, MARTIN. *La Société et les institutions de l'antiquité classique. Tome III: La Société romaine, Première partie: Les origines et la formation*. Brussels and Paris: Les Editions Universitaires, 1955. Pp. 343. 45 ill. Fr. 285.

HOHENSEE, H. *The Augustinian Concept of Authority*. Foreword by Rev. J. M.-F. MARIQUE, S.J. ("Folia," Supplement, II.) New York, 1954. Pp. 79. \$2.00 (\$1.00 to subscribers to *Folia*). (To be ordered from Mr. Robert F. Moroney, 2180 Ryer Ave., New York 57, N. Y.)

HUNT, H. A. K. *The Humanism of Cicero*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954. Pp. viii, 221. \$4.75 (30s).

LARSON, J. A. O. *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*. ("Sather Classical Lectures," Vol. XXVIII.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. Pp. vii, 249. \$4.00.

LOBEL, EDGAR, and DENYS PAGE (edd.). *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. xxxviii, 337. \$8.00 (50s).

PAGE, DENYS. *Sappho and Alcaeus: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. ix, 340. \$6.75 (42s).

SÄFLUND, GÖSTA. *De Pallio und die stilistische Entwicklung Tertullians*. ("Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom," 8°, VIII.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1955. Pp. xi, 233; 2 ill. Sw. Crs. 25.

SPAETH, JOHN WILLIAM, JR. *Index Verborum Ciceronis Poeticorum Fragmentorum*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955. Pp. ix, 130. \$3.50.

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